THE New Republic

Obscenity, Censorship and the Mails

PAGES 17 and 18

WHY EDEN IS IN WASHINGTON

"DRY TINDER" IN THE MIDDLE EAST

BY MICHAEL STRAIGHT

The New-Fashioned American Radical

BY JOHN ROCHE

The Politics of Sean O'Casey

BY ERIC BENTLEY

Fasten Your Seat-Belt for a Jetaway Ride

BY WALTER GOODMAN

JANUARY 30, 1956

20c

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Washington Wire .... *T.R.B.*

We wonder about the unspoken thoughts of Sir Anthony Eden and John Foster Dulles as they meet this weekend. Both have just been lashed by domestic attacks. But in Britain even Eden's sharpest critics praise his opposition to Dulles. Dulles, you remember, tried his brink-of-war tactics over Indo-China, accompanied by atom-rattling. Then when France and Britain wouldn't go along, he flounced out of the Geneva conference with the Chinese Reds, blaming Britain and leaving Eden to pull his chestnuts out of the fire. Now in the *Life* "interviews," the British are blamed once again and accused of bad faith. For his part Eden has left little doubt how he feels about Dulles. Well, we assume the two men will smile, shake hands and pose cordially at the airport. Then no doubt Eden will make his real appeal to Ike—for greater US involvement in the Middle East.

We watched Herbert Hoover, 81, advocate an "Assistant President" before a Senate committee last week. Hoover has fascinated us ever since we used to cover him in his high-collar, Secretary-of-Commerce-days, when he answered questions with eyes fixed squarely on the table in front of him and so became President. Our notes from last week: "Looks able for age, cheeks ruddy, white hair plastered down from pinkish balding head; familiar brown, double-breasted suit but wears soft collar now; earphone wire over left ear; voice pawky, nasal and unmagnetic as of old, as inaudible as when he rode Rosinante against FDR's windmills. Sounds like a character on the radio imitating a country store-keeper ('Spell-binder, isn't he!' says girl reporter beside us, ironically). Text of testimony cut up, interlarded, penciled, revised beyond reporters' capacity to follow ('Where is he now?' asks the girl reporter desperately). Thumbs slowly revolve against each other under table as he reads into microphone above; mikes always getting too far away. Looks down fixedly as Senators question (this still true though the starch collar is gone: mannerisms outlast haberdashery). Keeps his head, eyes, hands all busy with yellow pencil on pad, while his voice is talking in steady monotone on another subject. Neal McNeil, ex-executive of the Hoover Commission, relays questions to him; consulting a Modern Oracle is a matter of electronics—little batteries and transistors bring in questions, a metaled mike takes out The Word. Senators give up effort at questions, turn to eulogies; Carl Mundt (R., S.D.) hails him as an 'American Churchill.' The big moment comes when blue-jowled Joe McCarthy applies fulsome praise. Pause grows, tension mounts, then white-haired Hoover, looking down, answers quietly 'Thank you, Senator'."

And then there was that other press conference last week with Ike which we suppose we shall never forget. Half an hour early the press queue extended about half a block down the cavernous fourth floor corridor of the rococo old State Department, and more reporters were coming every minute. As the double line ambled forward, the windows in adjacent offices gave a gloomy view of descending snow. Police walked down the line checking passes, finally all seats and standing space in the ornate Treaty Room were filled, the high old ceremonial chamber that looks like something out of "Congress Waltzes," heated and made unreal by blazing lights.

Ike entered; the crowd stood; he gave a quiet "Please be seated" and the first conference in five months began. Ike looked tanned and unchanged, but his manner was subtly different, slower and more solemn. What emerged for some of us was an emotional realization for the first time of the mental—as apart from physical—changes wrought by his experience; the drama of a man faced with a decision whose stake is the Presidency, based on his own vital chances. Ike spoke without tension, quietly naturally, dressed in a brown tweedy suit, brown tie whose knot he sometimes fingered, light shining on his high, bald dome dusted with hair. He was apparently intent on keeping his blood pressure down and showed irritation only once or twice. We watched the little twisty artery in his right temple; it did not bulge as it sometimes does. He chuckled occasionally, kept himself in hand, didn't answer questions precisely on anything—Dulles, Ridgway or his election plans. In 1954, we recalled when he was questioned about Nixon's poisonous campaign charges, Ike told the press he hadn't read them, and next day sent Nixon a congratulatory telegram. This time he said he hadn't read Dulles' *Life* article, then extolled him as "greatest Secretary of State" he's known. Highlight, of course, was Ike's frank statement that "it would be idle to pretend that my health can be wholly restored." We wondered if Ike lies awake nights worrying what GOP leaders will say if he doesn't run; came away feeling sorry for an ex-General whose arm is being twisted.

Oil, coal and extracting industries generally get a 27.5-percent tax cut called "depletion allowance" on the theory that this stimulates discovery. But Professor H. M. Gray, University of Illinois, told a recent Congressional hearing:

> During the past 30 years the depletion allowance . . . has degenerated into a lucrative, generalized, and largely functionless subsidy the benefits of which accrue to a few large corporations. . . . They constitute a powerful vested interest, the capitalized volume of which amounts to billions of dollars. For justification a sophisticated rationalization has been evolved whose grand design is to reconcile private privilege with the public interest . . . It imposes on the Treasury a huge loss of potential revenue which may run to as much as $1 billion per year.

Notes: Nixon gave a preview of what he offers the GOP as campaign orator in his Chicago "Salute" speech; it was 100 percent Grade A Nixon, savagely attacking Stevenson and Truman and charging Democrats with "plans for socializing basic American institutions." . . . Henry Luce upbraids the press for calling the *Life* article an "interview" with Dulles. It wasn't an interview at all, he says. Then why did Mr. Luce's own publicity release, from which reporters took their cue, describe the article as an "exclusive interview"?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

Quemoy and Matsu: Back Toward the Brink of War

NEGOTIATIONS between the Chinese Communists and the United States have ground down to a halt in Geneva. The Peking government in a bitter statement denounces our refusal to discuss the status and the future of the Chinese province of Formosa (Taiwan). The Eisenhower Administration stands on the disingenuous reply that "Taiwan has never been a part of Communist China." Our government insists that as a precondition to negotiations the Peking government renounce the use of force in the area. This, of course, is an empty gesture—the kind which the Kremlin is fond of advancing on atomic weapons—and which we customarily scorn. The Peking government similarly scorns the notion that it surrender its principal source of strength in negotiations—its growing ability to dominate the Formosa area by force of its arms. And yet the Eisenhower Administration, while it insists that negotiation is the alternative to force, has so far banned the high-level conference that Peking seeks. Meanwhile our government adds that, on the battlefield or around the conference table, the rights and responsibilities of the US to defend Formosa are not negotiable since to us an assault on Formosa is an attack upon the US.

The Peking government cites the Dulles article in *Life* as a reason for breaking off negotiations. Noting that China is the object of Mr. Dulles' threats in the three examples which our Secretary of State gave to *Life*, Peking indicates what its reaction will be if Mr. Dulles takes us to the brink again:

> Secretary of State Dulles . . . cried out recently that in order to hold onto China's territory . . . he would not scruple to . . . start an atomic war. [He] . . . imagined this would frighten the Chinese people into giving up their own sovereign rights But this attempt will never succeed.
> . . . The armistice in Korea, the restoration of peace in Indo-China and the withdrawal from the Tachen islands have successively demonstrated the . . . bankruptcy of the policy of atomic intimidation. Should the United States aggressors still want to carry on such a policy of atomic intimidation they would inevitably encounter more disastrous defeats.

With this the discussions are presumably ended for the present. Action, if action follows, may begin in the Chinese coastal islands where tensions are now higher than at any time since we journeyed to the brink of war last spring. The United States, as the Peking government notes, persuaded the Chinese Nationalists to surrender the Tachen Islands. But we have tightened our grip on the less valuable and all-but-indefensible outposts of Quemoy and Matsu. Supported by new American equipment and aided by American officers of the Military Advisory Group, the Nationalists have piled 15,000 soldiers onto the tiny island of Matsu and raised their garrison on Quemoy to between 60,000 and 75,000 men. The Chinese Communists in turn have completed six military air bases within striking distance of Matsu, and ringed Quemoy which lies within Amoy harbor with heavy artillery. They are finishing construction on a rail line to Amoy, confirming that they intend to build it into a major port. This requires the regaining of Quemoy by subversion, strangulation or assault.

In the *Life* interview Mr. Dulles expressed the view that the Korean war began because the Communists were not sure whether we would fight. Not so on the Chinese coastal islands. There Dulles at least never doubted, according to *Life*, that if the islands were attacked Eisenhower in turn would order an atomic strike against the Chinese mainland. Eisenhower in turn nullified the Dulles policy of informing the enemy of our intentions by declaring on January 19 that no decision reached by the National Security Council should be revealed. To Mr. Dulles at his press conference May Craig voiced the general confusion:

> Q. Mr. Secretary, you have said our views should be made clear lest the enemy miscalculate and get into war. Why do we not make our position clear on Matsu and Quemoy?
> A. I think it is clear.
> Q. It is not clear to me, sir.
> A. It is not clear to you because you, like me, cannot read the minds of the Chinese Communists. But to them I think it is quite clear.
> Q. What do you think they think we mean to do?
> A. I think that they think that if an attack is started there which comprehends a claim to take by force Formosa and the Penghus (the Pescadores) that we will fight.

The Chinese Communists are intensifying the artillery barrage against Quemoy. They may also bomb the ships that bring food and arms to Quemoy in an effort to starve out its garrison. Will these developments comprehend a claim by the Chinese Communists to take Formosa? Further: *Do we think that they will think that we will think that we have been attacked?*

It is more than probable that the Peking government will test out our intentions within the next few months. Dulles is already committed to reassert this nation's willingness to fight on behalf of the garrison we have encouraged to camp within gunshot of China. Eisenhower may still be forced to disavow the commitment or else make it good.

Gas: No Explosion — Yet

BEFORE the Senate opened its debate on natural gas in late January, newspapers and magazines, including *The New Republic*, anticipated an explosion which would rock the Democratic Party.

It did not happen that way. Of course gas-producing states lined up on one side and gas-consuming states on the other, but in the courtly debate every opponent was "my distinguished friend," and Senate oratory filled 115 fine-print pages without a single loss of temper.

To this end the Democratic Leader Lyndon Johnson of Texas seems to have

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

arranged a daily Retreat, or Flag-lowering Ceremony, at which all Democrats in the debate lined up and expressed fondness for each other. Here is the flavor of the Ceremony the first day (January 16) after Sen. Mike Monroney (D., Okla.) completed a 3-hour speech:

> Senator Clinton Anderson (D., N.M.): "I wish to express my appreciation to the able Senator from Oklahoma . . . being thoughtful to those individuals who may differ."
>
> Senator Paul Douglas (D., Ill.): "I too congratulate the Senator from Oklahoma upon . . . his characteristically gentlemanly manner. It is always a pleasure to debate with him."
>
> Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson: "I wish to congratulate everyone . . ."

Next day after long speeches by Senators William Fulbright (D., Ark.) and Clinton Anderson (D., N.M.), Democrats again bowed to each other.

Another reason for the polite tone is that debate has turned out much more two-sided than the Northern press had acknowledged. Here are some of the telling arguments advanced by Southern proponents of the bill, the purpose of which is to free natural gas producers from regulation by the Federal Power Commission, while retaining federal price regulation over the gas during interstate transmission.

The price of natural gas at the well head is today about the same as it was in 1928, despite the fact that there was no federal regulation over producers during the first 26 years of that period. The stability of gas prices stems from the fact that most pipeline contracts call for a flat 20-year price. Pipeline contracts signed recently are at higher rates, some around 15 cents per 1000 cubic feet, compared to a previous 10 cents.

If gas producers are subjected to a utility-type regulation and limited to a "just and reasonable" return—often set at 8 to 10 percent by utility control bodies—there would not be sufficient capital for the high risks of drilling new wells. For example, in 1955 out of about 12,300 wildcat wells drilled, 1800 were completed as oil wells, 350 as gas wells, and 10,000 were dry holes. The cost of the dry holes must be recouped from the successful wells. In the year 1954 not enough successful gas wells were drilled to replace the gas consumed.

It is very difficult to apply a utility-type regulation to gas producers while not applying regulation to petroleum producers, because in most instances the wildcat driller is looking for both gas and oil. If gas prices must be based upon a reasonable return on invested capital, the driller will be able to charge all his dry holes against his gas development, thus raising the cost of gas.

As the debate entered its second week, Sen. Paul Douglas (D., Ill.), as leader for the opposition, summed up that the chances were still about even for passage—that is, 45 Senators on record for, 45 against, and 6 uncommitted.

Big Job, Little Man

THE CHAIRMANSHIP of a Congressional committee is what the incumbent makes of it. Some are leaders. Some are plodders. Some are ciphers.

The present chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, James P. (Dick) Richards of South Carolina, possesses the important qualities of a good chairman—he commands the respect of fellow Representatives in both parties, he pushes business through his committee in orderly fashion, and he is an effective speaker in a floor fight.

Now Richards has announced he will not seek re-election in 1956. After 24 years in Congress, 20 years on the Foreign Affairs Committee, and about four years as its chairman, he plans to return to private law practice.

His successor as chairman, should the Democrats retain control of the House in 1956, would be Rep. Thomas S. Gordon of Chicago, a man of very different qualities. Gordon, to those who know him well, is a quiet, sincere, conscientious product of the Kelly-Nash machine in Chicago, where he served as city parks commissioner, public vehicle commissioner, and city treasurer. During 13 years in Congress he has acquired a near-perfect voting record by the standards of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party, and attended committee meetings methodically, but his friends say they cannot imagine Gordon ramrodding legislation through the Committee or leading a floor fight.

This is not a new problem in Congressional committees. The last Republican chairman of this committee, Robert B. Chiperfield of Canton, Ill., (chairman 1953-54) felt unable to lead the floor fight on legislation, and delegated leadership on each bill to such aggressive Republican legislators as John Vorys, and Mrs. Frances Bolton of Ohio, Walter Judd of Minnesota, and James Fulton of Pennsylvania.

But the problem facing Gordon, should he become chairman, is that the other 14 Democrats now serving on the committee include only one effective floor speaker, Brooks Hays of Arkansas, and he ranks 9th in seniority. It is situations like these that have led Congressional reorganizers for years to advocate abolition of the seniority system.

THE New Republic A JOURNAL OF OPINION

1826 JEFFERSON PLACE, N. W. WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

Michael Straight, *Editor*
Gilbert A. Harrison, *Publisher*
Helen Fuller, *Managing Editor*

F. R. Ruskin, *Administrative Assistant*
Lucille Davis, *Copy Assistant*
Irvin Shapiro, *Design*

Robert Evett, *Book Editor*
Eric Bentley, *Theatre Critic*
Delmore Schwartz, *Poetry Editor*

Published weekly and Copyrighted, 1955 in the USA by New Republic, Inc. Phone: REpublic 7-8656. Entered as second-class matter September 26, 1950, at the post office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Single copy, 20c; Yearly subscription, $7.00; Foreign, $8.00; Armed Forces personnel or students, $5.00.

Volume 134, Number 5, Issue 2149

Washington Wire, by T.R.B. 2
Behind the Headlines 3
A Radically New Farm Program 7
by John Fischer and Haldore Hanson
"Dry Tinder" in the Middle East 9
by Michael Straight
New-Fashioned American Radicals 13
by John P. Roche
Books and Comment 17
Theatre 21
Correspondence 22

Subscribers desiring change of address should notify us at least three weeks in advance. Please include both old and new addresses, and, if possible, wrapper with stencil impression.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AT THAT $100-A-PLATE "SALUTE TO EISENHOWER"

There was food, but little mirth or laughter for Republicans, and speaking for the press, one newspaperman recalls Milton's lines:

"The Hungry Sheep Look Up and Are Not Fed"

IT HAS long been my contention that the greatest favor that could be done the press is to devise some method by which reporters can avoid eating at public dinners. So I was delighted when John Underhill, press man for the Republicans' $100-a-plate dinner of January 20, warned me that the "Salute to Eisenhower" did not extend to feeding the press.

As a result, I went home happily on Friday evening, had a nice dinner with my wife, then went to the Sheraton-Park Hotel to watch the Republicans eat. En route through the lobby to the big hall where the doings were taking place, I encountered a sign outside the Burgundy Room, "Press Buffet." Inside were the angriest and hungriest people you ever saw, looking in disgust at a table that contained some cheese sandwiches and was flanked by a tub of ice and bottled beer.

There were the selected groups of reporters to whom regular dinner tickets, just like the ones that cost $100, had been given. They had marched to the tables designated on their tickets, in the main dining room. They discovered there that their tables were so far away from the balcony edge that they could see nothing of the performance. Still worse, they found that although their tables originally had been set up for serving food, everything had been removed. When they inquired of the waiters when they would get their roast sirloin—or the Friday alternative of swordfish steak—the answer was that those tables were not to be served. The indomitable Mrs. May Craig turned upon one waiter the cold eye that has caused many a "Meet the Press" guest to flinch, produced her numbered dinner ticket and demanded to get the same food being served Republicans who had paid $100. The waiter answered: "You ain't gonna eat here." Thereupon the retreat began to the "Press Buffet" in the Burgundy Room.

Aside from a haunting fear that the Eisenhower Administration is full of New Dealers, Mr. Robert Richards, head of the Washington Bureau of the Copley papers, is as loyal a Republican as you can find in America. The fact that he was one of only three reporters who showed up in dinner jackets made him even more impressive as he pointed in scorn to the cheese sandwiches and beer.

"How stupid can we Republicans get?" he demanded without hope of getting a reply. "Where's Lou Guylay? Why doesn't the publicity staff of the National Committee come in here and do something for us!" The answers seemed to be that there had been some hard feelings generated between the District of Columbia dinner committee and the staff of the National Committee, and Publicity Director Guylay and his people were staying as far away from the press room as possible.

"If this were a Democratic affair," said Mr. Richards, "Sam Brightman would be in here and have everything arranged for us. You remember that Jackson-Jefferson dinner when Truman was President and the South Carolina people wouldn't sit at their table because of his civil rights program?

"There I was, at a table right at the edge of the balcony where I could signal to a photographer to take a picture of the empty table. Almost anything could be going on at this Republican dinner right now and we wouldn't know anything about it."

Although not so vociferous as Mr. Richards, another loyal Republican was suffering even greater anguish. In fact, the *Washington Star's* beloved and respected Gould Lincoln seemed to feel it was a reflection upon him that his party had messed things up so well. In an effort to make personal atonement, Mr. Lincoln freely offered to take a large number of guests out to dinner at his expense. He found only one taker, however, the rest preferring martyrdom.

The growling grew so loud in the Burgundy Room that it echoed throughout the hotel. Waiters appeared with ham and turkey sandwiches to augment the cheese. Four bottles of bourbon and two bottles of scotch appeared as reinforcements for the beer. As an afterthought, or perhaps as dessert, in came some handsome dishes of jumbo shrimp.

Somebody started a 10-cent poker game. It was the first time in more than a dozen years of covering Jackson Day or Lincoln Day dinners that I had seen reporters play poker in a room away from the event of the evening. However boring speeches may be, whether by Republicans or Democrats, the working reporters heretofore have felt the need to listen to all that went on. This time, frustrated by their inability to get near the news, they simply killed time until President Eisenhower's appearance at 9:50 o'clock. Nor were they in any position to transmit to millions of curious readers the thrill of that moment. For in the work space provided it was physically impossible for the reporters to see the President as he spoke. One of their number, by squeezing his nose into a corner of glass, could see the top of the President's head. The rest had to content themselves with looking at a television screen which was thoughtfully provided to let them in on the closed-circuit show.

It was hard to get hold of anyone to listen to your gripes. At last, however, a victim was found of no less importance than the Deputy Assistant to the Presi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dent. I had the pleasure of helping Richard L. Wilson, representative of the pro-Eisenhower Cowles publications, escort Wilton B. "Slick" Persons into the Burgundy room to view the cheese sandwiches and the poker game.

The women reporters, as usual, were more outspoken than the men. To the complaints of Mrs. Craig were added those of Columnist Doris Fleeson and Society Chit-chatterer Betty Beale. In fact, Miss Beale thought so poorly of the arrangements for seeing anything or anybody that, after one look around, she departed from the Sheraton-Park for pastures that, if not greener, at least were more accessible.

Such bobbles are trivialities, of course, but they are somehow symptomatic. The truth is the Republicans ought not mix money raising with an effort to have a good time. It would be far more profitable if the party fund raisers would accept each $100 check, keep $90 and send back $10 with which the contributor could go out and buy himself a fancy meal.

Democrats just wallow in good times not only at their Jefferson-Jackson dinner but also at their numerous vigorous throat-cutting inter-party disputes. But politics is no recreation for Republicans. They are oppressed by the solemnity of the hour each time they gather. They are burdened with apprehension lest some failure on their part give the Democrats another chance to destroy all that our country holds dear. There was little mirth and laughter at the Washington Salute to Eisenhower. It was a time to be doleful. If the $100 diners felt that the goose-grease poured out of the television screen upon the head of President Eisenhower reached the point of the ridiculous, none of them gave any indication.

As for the incongruous contrast between engineering feats and human failures as we felt it, when a party management is devoting all its energies to persuading a man he owes even his very life to it because he alone can take it to victory, it hasn't time to fret about adequate arrangements for the press. As one reporter phrased it:

"If you think you are badly treated tonight, wait until you sleep on that park bench in San Francisco!"

ROBERT L. RIGGS

Pas pour moi le Club de Mer

I WAS PUSHED into the World of Tomorrow last week, via the 49th Street entrance. I found myself in a room full of large, revolving platters. "Can you tell me if this is the Kitchen of Tomorrow?," I asked a handy official. "Am I getting an Advance Peek at Tomorrow's Lighthearted Living?"

"No," he replied. "Those are Buicks on those saucers. You can tell by the shimmering steel and the sweep-ahead grace."

Platters were turning in the next room, too: somebody had just overturned a water cooler, a couple of little boys were splashing happily around a man who was on his knees trying to pick up the larger pieces of glass.

In room number three, lots of tall people stood between me and the Maharani finished in gold pearlescence and metallic maroon. The world-renowned emblem standing out from the purple walls marked this definitely as the Cadillac salon.

From this richness, I was swept through bedraped halls into the massive-pillared Temple of Tomorrow: it looked suspiciously like the grand ballroom of the Waldorf Astoria and was packed with worshippers. A half-dozen long, low, glassy spotlighted cars turned on more platters. It was something like a barber shop, maybe a Greek barber shop. Before I had had a chance to inspect the annodized brushed aluminum body of the Club de Mer, the Centurion's fiberglass, the plastic Impala, the aerodynamic styling of the Golden Rocket or the futuristic design of Cadillac's Eldorado Brougham (all of which seemed to have fins), I was swept on to the Firebird II—made of Titanium, you know. Then as I was mid-way between ballroom doors, the crowd in front of me stalled: all eyes turned right to the 70 x 55 x 27 foot stage on which the ruby-colored Car of Tomorrow gleamed before a Vista-Vision highway. A well-groomed man pressed a button on the car door; up swung one-half of the glass top. He entered. Down came the top. He drove the car a soundless two yards, brought it to a halt, caused half the roof to rise and then suavely emerged.

In the Oldsmobile salon, which I circled twice to the tune of "Come With Me, Lucille. . . ." I should have liked to ask someone who knew about the new jetaway hydra-matic, but couldn't disengage myself. In one audacious lurch, I did manage to grab hold of the velvet rope guarding Chevrolet's little, orange Corvette. No fins. I was close enough to touch it and did, whereupon a uniformed guard gave me a very nasty look and promptly brushed away the bruise with cheesecloth.

Behind me, on someone's head, loomed a puckish child. Every now and then he reached out and tugged my ear lobes. "I don't like it," my left-hand neighbor was saying. "Wadya mean," retorted my right-hand neighbor. "It is a true-blue, tiger-tempered sports car in the noblest tradition. It's the Truly American Sports Car." My left-hand neighbor pulled a long face. "I know all about those flashing jewel-like color contrasts of cockpit and body, whip-lash acceleration, cat-sure cornering and handling. I don't like it."

I was sorry not to have seen the fabulous world-famous jewel collection of Harry Winston back in the Buick salon or the first combined Vista Vision and stage show, "Key to the Future," or the GM aerotrain. But the kitchen was still ahead. And not very far ahead at that. "A half-hour wait for the Kitchen of Tomorrow," a bustling chap was announcing. The ultra-sonic dishwasher; the electro-recipe file; the range that never gets hot; the remote-controlled serving cart; the amazing automatic hamper; the fountain sink that washes vegetables. Half an hour was little enough.

I got onto a rapidly moving line, and not much later I was propelled back into the world of today on 50th Street. I had some trouble getting across Lexington Avenue on my way to the Chrysler International Auto Salon: traffic jam.

New York City WALTER GOODMAN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Radically New Farm Program

In the December issue of *Harper's* magazine, Editor-in-Chief John Fischer complained that the American farmer "has got in the habit of accepting his dole," and that "when any hog keeps his jowls in the trough long enough, he gets to thinking he owns the trough." Mr. Fischer scorned the "grovelling all over the barnyard" of politicians "as they court the country vote." Strong exception to this portrayal of the farmers' plight was taken by Haldore Hanson in his *New Republic* article of January 9. The exchange of views continues.

John Fischer Writes:

SIRS:

The most interesting thing about Mr. Hanson's article, "How Are the Crops in Manhattan?" in your January 9 issue is the set of unspoken assumptions which seems to lie behind it. Apparently these are: (a) "The farmer" is an underdog. (b) Every good liberal should help underdogs. (c) The short way to help "the farmer" is to give him some more money out of the federal treasury.

The main trouble with these assumptions is that there is no such thing as "the farmer." There are many different kinds of farmers, raising different crops—some needed and some not—and suffering different degrees of underdogginess.

A good many are really hard up; they don't get much help from federal farm subsidies, never have, and aren't likely to under any of the legislation now before Congress. Others—many of them big plantation owners who have taken the lead in the fight against desegregating Southern schools—have drained hundreds of thousands of dollars apiece out of the taxpayers' pocketbooks. Is it really the duty of The Good Liberal to add to their riches—thereby subsidizing one of the most reactionary groups in America? Do you really yearn to help poor Senator Capehart, who already has nicked us for a wheat "loan" of more than $21,000?

Finally, is it either good liberalism or good sense to continue, without significant change, the kind of farm programs which freeze agriculture into an obsolete pattern—a pattern which ties up manpower and resources in the production of crops which we don't need, can't use, and can't even give away?

The immediate danger is that the Democratic Party will get committed to a policy of restoring high, rigid price supports. Most Democrats admit that this isn't "a complete answer"—but if this poultice eases the immediate pain, it will then be mighty hard to perform the painful legislative surgery which is necessary to cure our agricultural cancer.

At least one reader of *The New Republic* would be grateful for a series of articles which would discuss the specifications of a radically new farm program, designed to:

1. Produce the kinds and amounts of farm products the country needs, and no more.
2. Encourage family-operated farms of the necessary size and efficiency to survive without perpetual subsidy.
3. Divert about a million unneeded farm workers to productive occupations, and restore about 40 million acres to grass and timber.
4. Conserve the soil—our most valuable, and fastest-wasting, asset.
5. Eliminate excessive subsidies to factory-type farms and over-blown plantations.

Nobody pretends that it would be easy to devise such a program; but some hard thought about it would be a real service to the country.

Haldore Hanson Replies:

THERE is seed corn in John Fischer's closing paragraphs where he chalks up the goals for a new American farm policy and asks how to reach them. The banter and cynicism which characterized his *Harper's* article (we were guilty too) are cast aside. A national farm problem stands out, and he asks for a serious answer.

Any "radically new farm program" must, it seems to me, grow out of the answers to three questions:

Into what kind of economic world is the American national march leading us?

What kind of farm prosperity is appropriate to this world of the future, say in 1960?

What farm program will get us there?

First, where is the national march leading us? No periodical offered a better recent answer than *Harper's*, with its excellent series by Peter Drucker entitled *America's Next Twenty Years*. One finds a 1975 population projection of 220 million (up 28 percent). Nine to twelve million students are enrolled in colleges (2.5 million now). A national labor shortage is emerging. Each worker will conservatively produce twice as much

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

per hour. Industry will reinvest $100 billion a year in new plants ($40 billion now). And because this entire structure of rising prosperity and output is built upon a calculated stable growth, industry must do everything to stabilize its sales, its profits, and its labor force.

How does the farmer fit into this world of the future? At present the farmer produces 65 percent of all the raw materials of the United States. He consumes more steel than the automobile industry, he uses more rubber than go into the tires on all new passenger cars, he burns more petroleum than any other industry. The farm is one of the greatest wasters of manpower. If Mr. Drucker's projections are correct, the direction for new farm policy is clear. Excess labor should leave the farm. More farm mechanization means still greater farm consumption of steel, rubber and petroleum. And the growing dependence of industry upon steady markets and steady profits means that any major segment of the economy which upsets the equilibrium of growth is a threat to the national prosperity. Thus it becomes a matter of top economic policy—not charity to underdogs—to prevent the kind of farm slump which dropped farmers' net income 30 percent in the past two years. This means farm production must be induced toward some agreed prosperity goals, adequate to meet rising nutrition standards and to maintain reasonable government reserves, smaller than now.

How does a new farm program get us there? The answer requires a distinction among the four broad groups of farmers who run our 4.8 million farms. At the top of the economic scale are 100,000 "farm factories," large, prosperous units, often corporation-owned, producing 26 percent of our total farm products, and collecting very high price-support payments from the government, some over $1 million a year. At the bottom of the scale are two groups: 1.7 million farms which are really commuter homes or weekend retreats, having little economic significance; and more than one million poverty-ridden farms, generally less than 50 acres, mostly in the South, producing only 8 percent of the national farm output and benefitting little from present farm programs. Finally, in the middle are some 2 million "family-sized farms"—that favorite phrase in Democratic ideology, which Mr. Benson has now adopted. The successful family farm ranges from 50 to 1000 acres, and supplies more than 60 percent of output. It is the rural counterpart of the urban middle class.

Leon Keyserling of the Conference on Economic Progress has estimated family income in this group from all sources at $4000, about the same as the average factory worker (a comparison which makes allowance for no yield on the farmer's high investment).

Now to return to the question: What farm program will lead farm output toward prosperity goals, and will help check the wide swings in current farm income? Mr. Fischer offers some suggestions. He would divert a million unneeded workers from the farm. Many would, of course, come from that bottom, poverty-ridden group, and could only be induced to leave the farm by a retraining and placement program. Such a program has begun on an experimental basis. Mr. Fischer would divert 40 million acres of cropland to grass and trees. This is the soil bank on which there is now little disagreement in principle though estimates on the number of acres which need to be retired range from 8.5 to 45 million.

Mr. Fischer would put a ceiling on subsidies to factory-type farms. That is a step often urged by Democratic Senators Paul Douglas of Illinois and Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota for the past year, and repeated by President Eisenhower in his recent farm message. But the limitation was not included in the Administration's legislation.

Now I may be wrong, but here it seems is the Statue of Liberty play in Mr. Fischer's letter—and the reason why the program he seeks is neither new nor radical. Mr. Fischer asks no solution to the *immediate* problem of falling farm income. And he hopes to find a *long-term* way to encourage the family farm *without* subsidy. But there never has been a successful stabilization program in agriculture that did not involve some government rewards and restraints. Under a democratic government there probably never will be. These rewards may be large or small, and restraints light or heavy. But they are always there if wide swings in output and prices are to be avoided. There is no painless dentist.

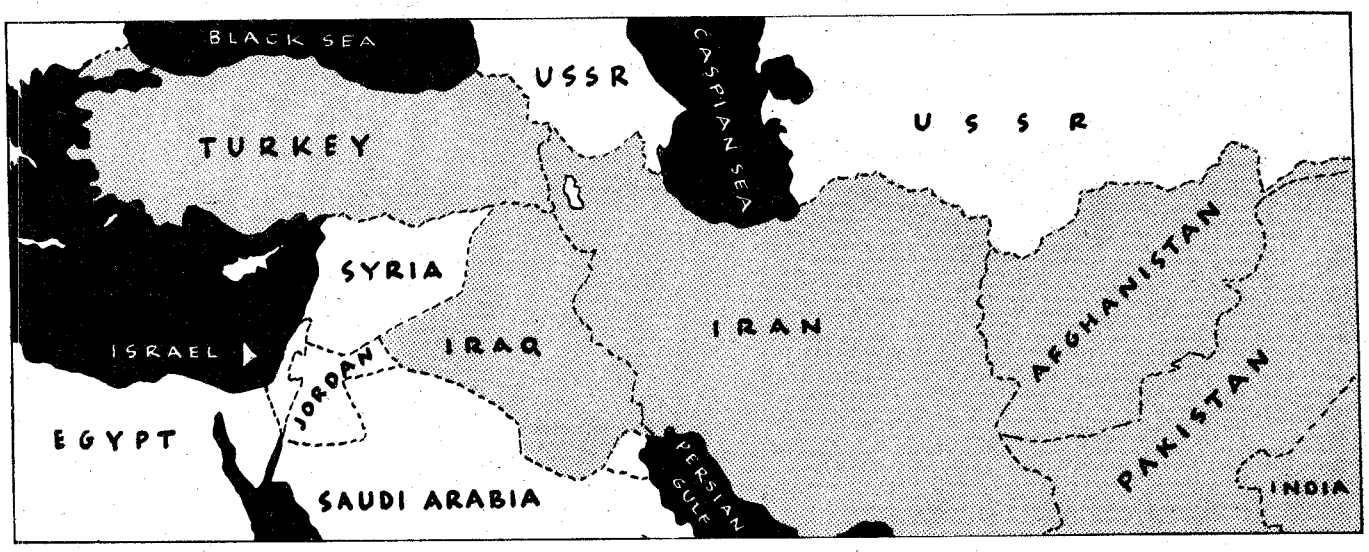
Mr. Fischer asked for specifications, and these comments have failed to provide them. A farm program which *does* set prosperity goals both for 1956 and 1960 is outlined in Leon Keyserling's *Full Prosperity for Agriculture,* a booklet reviewed in *The New Republic* of December 19, 1955. A very different program is advocated by President Eisenhower in his 8,000-word farm message of January 9. It calls for the Benson version of the "soil bank," under which farmers would withdraw acres from production, thus produce less. At the same time Mr. Benson would release to the market grain stocks now in government warehouses. Under his plan the present glut and depressed incomes would continue for the three or four years needed to empty government bins.

I would like to believe I have been grossly unfair to Mr. Fischer, and that he did not really suggest a farm program which contemplates no immediate remedy to the farm recession. But this reader of *Harper's* finds it more difficult to reach this conclusion after discovering in the February issue a letter to the editor which reads:

"I have read the article by John Fischer in the December issue of *Harper's* with a great deal of interest. It is excellent."

/s/ Ezra T. Benson

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



"Dry Tinder" in the Middle East

by MICHAEL STRAIGHT

THE BAND of nations shaded on this map are formally joined together in the Baghdad Pact. Secretary Dulles regards the pact as a major triumph of his diplomacy, a shield against Soviet intrusion into the Middle East. Our allies, in private, refer to the pact as a major blunder, a useless expression of Mr. Dulles' "pactomania" which heightens existing tensions within the Middle East and opens it up to Soviet infiltration. The dilemmas are so sharp and the dangers so plain that Sir Anthony Eden has come to confer with President Eisenhower in an effort to develop a common stance in the region that the President calls "the most important strategic area in the world."

The Soviet Government agrees with Mr. Eisenhower's assessment. When the Axis powers in November, 1940, pressed the Kremlin to accept their friendship by acquiescing in their war aims, Molotov agreed on one condition: "provided that the area south of Batum and Baku in the general direction of the Persian Gulf is recognized as the center of the aspirations of the Soviet Union." The agreement fell through and Soviet advances into the area were frustrated in the immediate postwar years. The Kremlin's interest remains intense in a region of historic Russian concern, and it is now increasing.

For the West, there are no grounds, legal, moral or political, on which we can forbid the Soviet Union the right to seek the same close relationships that we have enjoyed among the sovereign governments of the Middle East. There is no obvious way in which we can prevent these close relationships from becoming a new form of imperial domination by the USSR. The British imperial system that produced order of a kind in the area has been dismantled. The United States has not taken Britain's place as a Middle Eastern power. And yet, as J. C. Hurewitz notes in his book *Middle East Dilemmas:*

> The independent Middle East states individually are not capable of safeguarding their own frontiers. Nor have they developed any fruitful regional alliances. Even if they had done so, they would not have been able to build up by themselves in the foreseeable future sufficient power to replace the earlier Western military arrangements.
>
> The defenses of the Middle East are thus enfeebled and growing feebler at a time of reawakening Russian expansionists interest in the region.

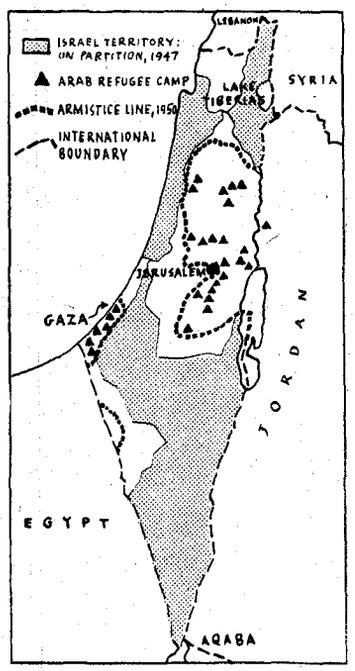
The response of Secretary Dulles to this reawakening was to transport without modification to the Middle East the concept of containment, and the method of mutual assistance which in Europe led to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. So he instigated along the sensitive frontier of the Soviet Union the paper organization of the Baghdad Pact. But the Middle East bore little resemblance to Europe and was neither willing nor able to submerge internal rivalries in a common effort to contain Communism. "These efforts miscarried," Dr. Hurewitz concludes: "The United States, instead of building in the Middle East a situation of strength, is contributing to a situation of weakness."

In pressing the Baghdad Pact under the illusion that we were creating strength to resist Soviet expansion, we have been arming one nation against another within the Middle East. Egypt condemns the pact as an imperialist effort to raise her rival, Iraq, to supremacy within the Arab League. Pressure upon Jordan to join the pact causes riots, instigated, experts insist, by Egypt and Saudi Arabia. And India is alienated from the West because

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Disputed Boundaries, Neglected Men

THE PARTITION of the British mandate of Palestine into new Arab and Jewish states, linked by an economic union, was developed under UN auspices when all other efforts at compromise failed. It was approved by the UN Assembly in November, 1947, supported equivocally by the United States, accepted by the Israelis and bitterly opposed by the Arabs. Britain also opposed it and withdrew from Palestine when her mandate expired on May 14, 1948. Israel then declared its independence and sovereignty. On May 15 units of the regular armed forces of Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria and Transjordan and token troops from Saudi Arabia entered Palestine to crush the new state. In two months of fighting they were defeated. In turn Israel, which had been allotted 5,600 square miles of territory by the UN plan, seized 2,000 square miles of Arab territory and reduced the Arab share to vestigial amounts. Israel cut off 70 Arab villages from their fields, pushed the Syrians 11 feet east of Lake Tiberias, depriving them of its use, and drove the Arabs out of the Negev, save at the Gaza Strip. The Arab states then added what remained of Palestine to their existing borders. Today, with minor exceptions, Israel bars any adjustment of the territory she has taken as "dismemberment."



Note: Where international boundary and armistice line coincide only former is shown.

The 1948 war uprooted the Palestine Arabs who fled or were driven from their homes and lands. They were advised to leave by their own leaders and by Arab armies who promised that they might soon return. They were driven out by Israeli armies, and made to flee by acts such as the slaughter of 200 Arab civilians in Dayr Yasir by Jewish terrorists on April 9, 1948. Of the 800,000-odd Arab refugees, the UN Relief and Works Administration reported in 1949 that 147,000 had become self-supporting while 629,000 were destitute and depended wholly on UN relief. Israel has refused to repatriate them, and the Arab states reject their integration in Arab nations as surrender and as recognition of Israel. 400,000 remain in Jordan, 200,000 in the Gaza Strip, 104,000 in Lebanon and 83,000 in Syria, mostly in camps shown on the accompanying map.

she sees the pact as a means of strengthening Pakistan.

With great skill the Soviet Union has countered Mr. Dulles' initiative by offering support and aid to the nations we have antagonized. By the single gesture of exchanging Czech armaments for Egyptian cotton the USSR has caused the greatest burst of Pan-Arab feeling since 1948, and attached this powerful driving force to its own purposes. Today in Jerusalem malnourished Arab children are denying themselves meat one day each week so that the pennies they save may help Egypt buy more arms from the Soviet bloc.

Within this setting of continuing conflict has been projected the special hatreds, deadlocks and perils set in motion by the creation of the new state of Israel. The reasons for its creation and the poignancy of its appeal need not be labored in these pages. It is necessary only to emphasize the obvious: that the optimism of Zionists who insisted that the new state would create stability in the Middle East by setting an example of modernization has so far proved false.

THE Arab peoples desire modernization, but in their own time and according to their own values. The outer crust of the Arab world has seemed in the past to lean to the West and to democracy rather than to Russia and Communism. But the crust is breaking apart. The landed oligarchies, the bribed and bribing dynasties can still be protected and controlled in Jordan; the tribal chieftains can still be bought by dollars or sterling in Saudi Arabia; the heirs of feudalism cling on in Iraq and give that country its Western orientation. But their days are numbered, and the comfort they offer us is illusory. Elsewhere in the Arab world middle-class nationalism is bursting through. Its allegiance is to an Arab nation of 80 million that may one day rise from Gibraltar to Teheran. Its allies are those who further that objective, Communists included. In the *Middle East Journal*, Walter Laqueur reports:

> Communism has functioned widely as a movement of middle-class revolt against feudal rule. . . . The roots of the values of the West have been skin deep. The impact of Communism as a technique for modernizing the Middle East, of overcoming its present backwardness in the shortest possible time is therefore of the greatest importance. Capitalism is identified with imperialist rule and democracy is something the imperialist powers allegedly practice at home. Democracy . . . has not been able to promise a much better life in the immediate future or make a spectacular effort in which everybody has to be told what to do; on the other hand Communism has had all the force of a secular religion.

For 30 years the Communist parties of the Arab states have foundered on their opposition to nationalism. Now they are allied with nationalism in the common stand of the Arab states against Israel. For these states regard the Arab-Israel conflict not as a dispute between feudalism

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

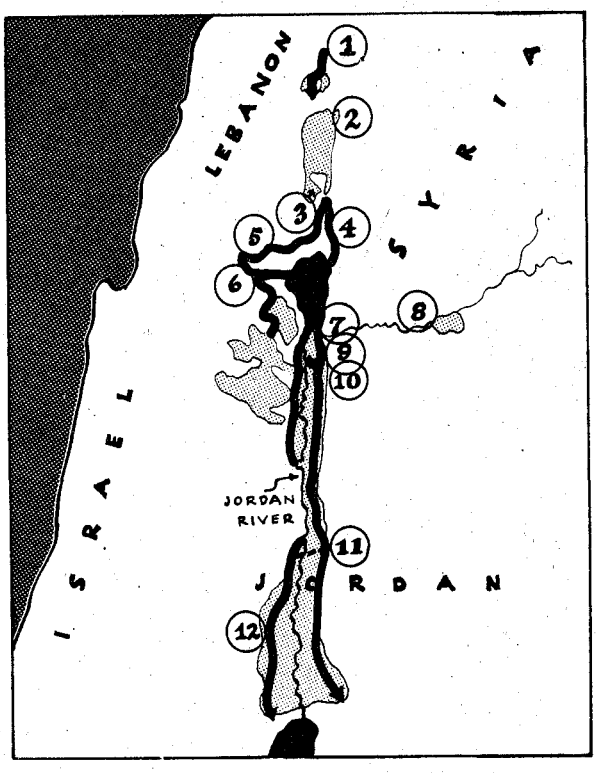
and democracy, but as a struggle between imperialism and national liberation. They mean by national liberation the creation of a self-governing federated Arab nation covering all the Middle East. They view Israel as a satellite outpost created, financed and backed by the West as a means of maintaining its imperial influence and keeping the Arabs subservient and divided. There is bluff, but more than bluff, in their contention that ardent support of Israel will cost the West what good will remains in the Arab world.

In the past, Democratic administrations have linked the US national interest in the Middle East to the well-being of Israel. More recently the Eisenhower Administration has encouraged the Arab nations to believe that we are also sympathetic with them. This Administration maintains with reason that while the United States has helped bring Israel into being and cannot now abandon its child, it must, as a nation which regards all men as equal, respect the feeling of the 40 million Arabs of the Middle East. The USSR, which also supported the creation of Israel, is free to abandon it in support of the stronger side. The US, our government maintains, cannot take one side or the other and must attempt to convince both sides of her good will.

But, quite apart from the difficulties of compromise, a center position is unprofitable. For it is basic in Arab attitudes to reject neutrality, to believe that if this nation is for the Arabs it must be against Israel, and if it is friendly to Israel it must be hostile to the Arab states. Thus every gesture of friendship made by the Eisenhower Administration encourages the Arab leaders to suppose that this country has abandoned Israel, and each move to sustain Israel is seen as an effort to harm the Arabs.

If Russia and the West were moving toward a settlement of worldwide disputes, it might be profitable to concede the legitimacy of Soviet interests in the Middle East, to attempt to maintain the peace and to restrict the flow of arms into the area through joint action by Russia, Britain, the US and France. But while the Cold War continues, this solution is ruled out. Israel accordingly wants sufficient arms from the US to permit her to maintain a local balance of power against the Arab nations combined. But granted the rising ambitions and capabilities of the Arabs and the amounts of surplus Communist arms that are available to them, Israel's objective is clearly unrealistic. On the other hand Britain's recent gestures in permitting tanks and guns to be sent to Egypt is no more likely to preserve peace—or even assure Arab good will.

The West, unlike the Russians, is bound to be the loser if the Arab-Israeli conflict continues at present tensions—for the simple reason that it cannot commit itself unreservedly to either side. Therefore, Eden and Eisenhower are desperate for a settlement.



The Jordan Valley Plan

"Rivers," the UN Economic Survey Mission for the Middle East reports, "show little regard for man-made boundaries." Among the main tributaries of the Jordan, the Hasbani rises at the foot of Mount Hermon in Lebanon and passes into Israeli territory; it is joined there by the Bareighit and the Dan which originate in Syria. Lower down the larger Yarmuk rises in the Syrian hills and passes into the Jordan south of Lake Tiberias (the Sea of Galilee).

The Johnston Plan proposes to redirect and store these flows in diversion and storage dams (1) (2) north of Lake Huleh (3) and at Maquarin (8). The Maquarin Dam will be 400 feet high and in addition to storing 300 million cubic meters of water will permit 150,000 kilowatt hours of electric energy to be generated each year.

From the upper Jordan, the Boteiha Farm Canal (4) will carry an assured minimum supply of water to irrigate an ancient and fertile agricultural community in Syria. The remainder will be pumped through the Galilee Hills Canal (5) to a new reservoir (6) and on down to the Negev.

In flood years the Yarmuk flow will greatly exceed the storage capacity of the Maquarin Dam. Therefore a diversion dam near Adasiya (9) is planned to divert flood waters to Lake Tiberias (7). Four hundred million cubic meters of water will be stored here under neutral supervision and released in agreed amounts to Israel and Jordan. The West Ghor Main Canal (12) and the East Ghor Main Canal (10 and 11) will irrigate all suitable land in lower Jordan. The two canals will be interconnected by siphons (11) and feeder canals (at 10). The three Arab states will receive about 61 percent and Israel about 39 percent of the total water that today is unused.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

No *collective* settlement is possible today between the Arab nations and Israel. But acting *separately,* each Arab nation in turn has come close to a peace agreement with Israel since 1948. Jordan approached agreement under King Abdullah in 1950; Syria in 1951. Lebanon has no territorial disputes with Israel and sees safety for its Christian population in peace. Egypt seemed ready to negotiate a year ago when Israel further exacerbated relations by raids upon the Gaza Strip. Today, if Egypt moves for a settlement, other Arab nations will follow; while Egypt refuses to compromise they will stand fast. Egypt's ambitious program of domestic reform gives her a special stake in a settlement. Therefore, it is to Egypt, governed by an able and realistic dictator, that Eden and Eisenhower look for conciliation today.

FIRST on the settlement agenda is the dispute over boundaries. Here Egypt's interest indicates moderation in claims. The areas of the Negev which Egypt might gain by a return to the 1917 boundaries are of little use to her; her natural defense line of the Wadi Arish is well behind the present boundary; the Gaza Strip which she holds now is worse than useless: a financial drain in peacetime, a military liability that cannot be held in war. Egypt's interest is in gaining a land passage to Jordan and the Arab states. That would mean cession of the southern tip of the Negev where it borders on the Gulf of Aqaba, and Israel rejects any such move as dismemberment. But if Egypt once reconciles herself to the existence of Israel, a settlement involving exchange of the Gaza Strip for concessions in the Negev would be fair enough to justify full US and British backing. Further backing by the two allies would be given to border adjustments between Israel and Jordan to eliminate the "Latrun salient" near Jerusalem, and to end the pitiful situation in which Arab villages are cut off from their lands.

Second on the settlement agenda is the dispute over the refugees. Here the weight of moral force is on the Arab side. The Arabs owned 93 percent of the land of Palestine in 1947. They were allotted 60 percent under the partition plan. The Jews, when they accepted partition, accepted not only the land but the people who owned and worked it. It was regrettable that a state, founded because of persecution and peopled by refugees, closed its newly established borders to the refugees of the 1948 fighting. The UN Assembly, in December, 1948, resolved that repatriation be granted to all refugees who desired it, that all others be paid compensation, and that further compensation be paid for property damage or loss. The Arabs have stood fast on these recommendations; Israel has ignored them. The refugees have been encouraged by the UN stand to believe in repatriation. This belief, as far as the majority is concerned, is obviously unrealizable, short of Israel's defeat in a war. However, justice and stability dictate that Israel should permit 10,000 to 25,000 refugees to go back to the underpopulated land of the Negev which they once tilled. For the great majority of refugees resettlement is the only practicable solution. It will, of course, require financial backing: first, to provide a minimum compensatory payment to every refugee; second, to settle property claims which a UN Commission, on the basis of past and low assessments, has placed very conservatively at £100 million Sterling. It will require further capitalization for the resettlement communities and projects. Israel, which today obtains 60 percent of its foreign exchange in remittances from America, is obviously unable to make these payments unaided. A large international loan is foreseen by Secretary Dulles, and President Eisenhower has recommended "substantial participation" by the United States.

These proposals are logical and urgently required.

The obstacles to their early realization may still prove insuperable. In that event the United States and Britain can only keep trying with the limited leverage they possess. They cannot profitably re-enter the area to impose a settlement. They cannot even use the inducement of massive economic aid as the British Government has proposed. For the Arab states scorn economic aid that is related in any way to a settlement with Israel. No amount of aid, they argue, can compensate for the diversion of their own resources into military budgets that the presence of Israel has forced upon them.

"THERE is plenty of dry tinder" about in the Middle East, in Sir Anthony Eden's words: there will be for a long time. This country at best can dampen it by clarifying its own position. We can forestall the rise of illusion among the Arab nations by reaffirming our belief in the permanence of Israel. We can counter Arab fears by adding that we will regard armed expansion by Israel as we would aggression by any other state. Beyond this we can only emphasize, as Mr. Dulles has done, our willingness to aid in underwriting a fair settlement, and impress upon all sides the extreme perils of setting in motion local warfare that may spread. If it is true that the provocative statements made on all sides obscure a mutual reluctance to renew the fighting then the United States may ultimately succeed in bringing to the fore an awareness of the potentialities of the area that may be achieved in peacetime through local effort backed by economic aid. Above all this can be done in projects which point to the economic development of resources held in common. The Aswan Dam is one such project. A second is the Jordan valley plan, inspired by the TWA and advanced by Eric Johnston as personal representative of President Eisenhower. For the present its prospects are poor. And yet beneath all surface obstacles the underlying need for co-operation, and therefore the hope, remains and must be kept alive.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We've Never Had More Freedom—II

New-Fashioned American Radicals

by JOHN P. ROCHE

ALTHOUGH Americans pride themselves on their patriotism, and vigilant state legislatures have made it virtually impossible for the young to escape some exposure to the facts of the American past, the average American is nonetheless singularly deficient in historical sense. Born without an historical umbilical cord, *homo Americanus* tramps from situation to situation through time, hardly concerning himself with the historical antecedents of his reactions, or with their probable historical consequences. His concern is with Hard Facts; he makes his judgments On The Merits; and his disregard, even scorn, for abstract thinking—and the intellectuals who engage in this peculiar avocation—is manifested in the public policy of the nation.

A striking instance of this American lack of a sense of history has been the contrast between American and French attitudes toward the rearming of Germany. Having reached the conclusion that a German army is necessary, American policy-makers have exorcised the past and acted as though Nazism and World War II were just a bad dream. The French, in contrast, living in an atmosphere of brooding historicism, have acted as though the main task today is to remedy certain procedural defects in the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648. Similarly in the Pacific, anti-Japanese sentiment is far stronger in Indonesia than among Americans, although the United States bore the main brunt of Japanese militarism. In short, Americans begin each evaluation by setting the scales at zero.

Recognizing the merits of this flexible technique, it is also important to note the defects that it contains. Each crisis is approached as though nothing like it had ever before occurred on this planet. McCarthy was treated by the liberal press as though Watson, Long, Coughlin and other leading specimens of the genus demagogue had never trod the American stage; the conservative press perpetually screams about the imminent murder of American liberty, as though the business community had suffered at the hands of Roosevelt and Truman, instead of prospering and surviving to bellow *Tyranny!* another day. The Reign of Terror is always upon us; the Jacobins —or the men of Thermidor—are ever on the verge of power.

Perhaps I am unduly skeptical about reigns of terror, but I have in my short life been alerted to many that never came off. In fact, my political weaning took place in the shadow of Roosevelt's guillotine, for in 1936 I was the only Democrat in my high school class. My classmates, from good Liberty League families, assured me that FDR's reelection would bring an end to human freedom. To emphasize the point they engaged in a campaign to "beat hell out of that little mick Roche," and I must confess that I deeply regretted the fact that heads did *not* subsequently roll. By 1940, I was convinced that the authentic terror was in the offing if the United States entered World War II, and with my socialist and pacifist cohorts, I grimly applauded Norman Thomas' pronouncement that 1940 would see our last free election unless we repudiated the Democratic and Republican warmongers. Elections came and went, and I suspect that some of us were quite disappointed since we felt that our potent opposition to the regime merited at least a *little* persecution. There is nothing so psychologically humiliating as to steel oneself for martyrdom and be ignored.

The point of this autobiographical diversion is that the reign of terror is a constant occupant of some area of the American political tradition. As today *The Daily Worker* and *Political Affairs* live in full expectation of suppression, so in the past the organs of the abolitionists, the Socialists, the IWW, the pacifists, the Non-Partisan League, the Anti-Masons, the Jeffersonians—and perhaps the Virginia Federalists!—and countless other embattled zealots published regular forecasts of the death of American liberty at the hands of their enemies. Moreover, the point of this article is that in an earlier period one could often speak accurately of a reign of terror, whereas today, in view of the changes in American life discussed in the previous article, the terrorists are usually equipped with a papier-mâché guillotine.

AUTHENTIC reigns of terror were launched in the Nineteenth Century to say nothing of such earlier campaigns as those conducted by God's Massachusetts agents against the Quakers in the colonial period. The dominant white, rural, Protestant sub-culture was constantly at war with other sub-cultures who rejected their key social symbols. Take, for instance, the nativist movement which in the 1840's and 50's spawned a powerful political wing in the Know-Nothings, with a platform of virulent anti-Catholic sentiments. The nativists did not simply propagandize for their viewpoint; they organized murderous and destructive riots in the

JOHN P. ROCHE, *a member of the political science faculty of Haverford College, is a director of the American Civil Liberties Union, Pennsylvania Branch.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

major Eastern cities directed, interestingly enough, against the one immigrant Catholic group which demonstrated political talent, the Irish. The Protestant elements of the *lumpen* proletariat organized into street gangs with such names as the Plug Uglies, Black Snakes, Rough Skins and Blood Tubs and carried on guerrilla street warfare with Irish home guards—top standing in the league went to those successful enough to burn down a church or a nunnery.

At about the same time, the abolitionists were receiving brutal treatment from "Vigilance Committees" in various Southern communities. These committees of leading citizens actually offered rewards for delivery to the magistrates, that is for kidnapping, of leading abolitionists. New Orleans, in fact, topped the list with an offer of $100,000 for Arthur Tappan and LaRoy Sunderland. William Lloyd Garrison estimated that 300 abolitionist agents were lynched, and recently a careful student of the period, Russell B. Nye, agreed that this was not an unreasonable figure. Most, though not all, of these anti-slavery advocates were unarmed fanatics who sought to exercise their freedom of speech in the South.

But for every lynching, there were hundreds of lesser penalties meted out. The tar-pot was constantly a-simmering, and the whip was kept limber. "Four Ohioans . . . whipped," "Rev. Aaron Kitchell . . . tarred and feathered," "Amos Dresser . . . 20 lashes in the marketplace and confiscation of belongings," "Rev. T. S. Kendall . . . tarred and ejected from town," so runs the gloomy catalogue of pain in Nye's book *Fettered Freedom*, and it goes on for page after page.

Similarly, the organizer for the IWW, the Socialist Party or other economically unorthodox organizations was liable to encounter genuine repression from the communities in which he spread his gospel, and there is hardly a trade union in the country whose history is not spotted with the blood of its pioneers.

In another sector, Walter Metzger and Richard Hofstadter have recently demonstrated that academic freedom, as a viable proposition, cannot be found operating in American colleges and universities much before World War I. Although there were shining exceptions, the teacher was generally at the mercy of his administrators, and if there were comparatively few outright dismissals, great care was taken to see that the unorthodox did not get hired in the first place. (In examining civil liberties issues, the incidence of cases can be a deceptive guide. Far from necessarily indicating a high level of oppression, a high case rate *can* symbolize the opposite—that acts formerly taken for granted are being resisted.)

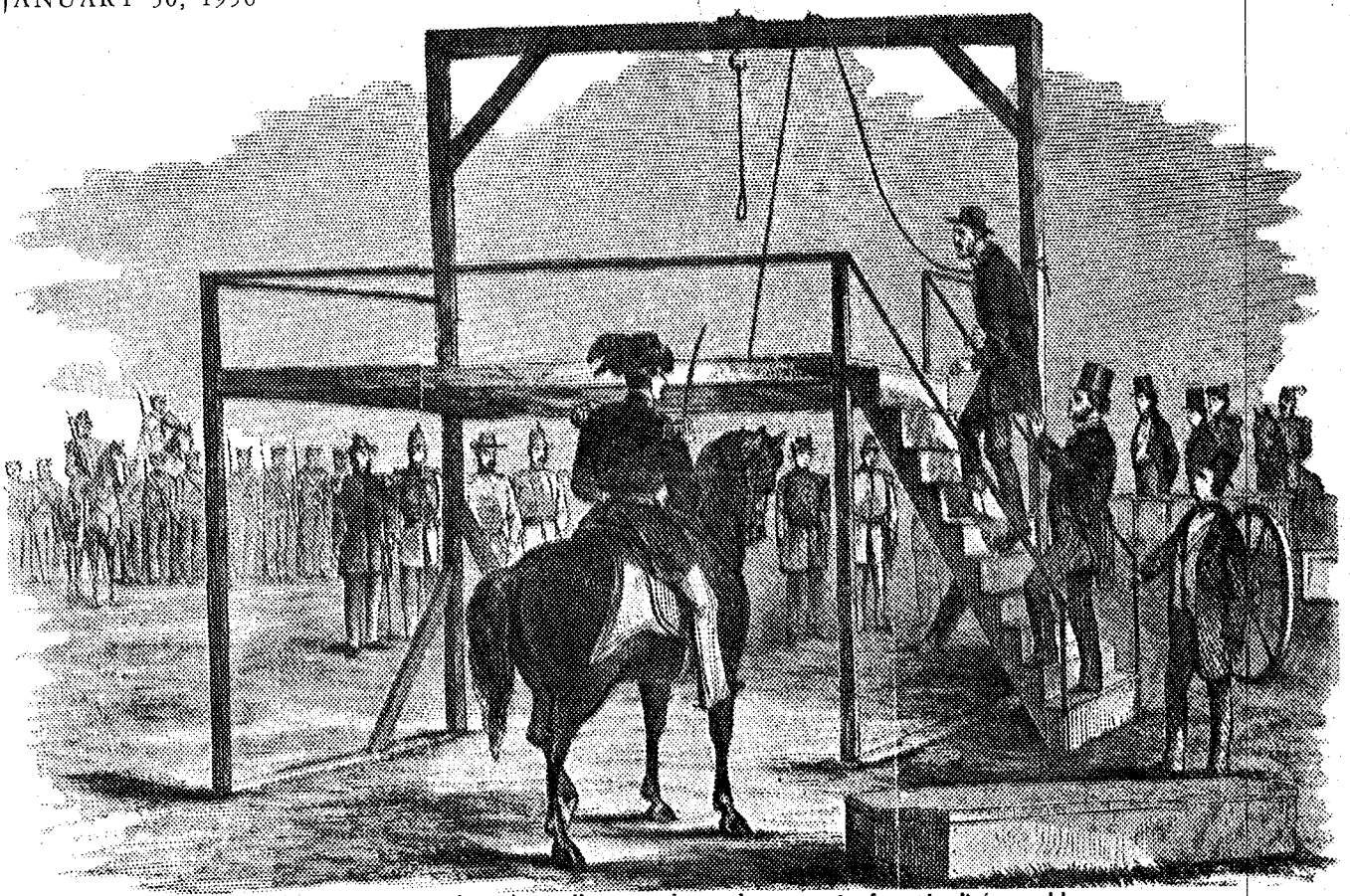
An instance by instance discussion of the treatment of dissenters in the Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries could easily fill a whole issue of this journal, but there is no need for such a detailed analysis. It is patent that real reigns of terror against deviant sub-cultures were the rule rather than the exception, with the ironic corollary that the persecuted were themselves often quite willing to persecute those more helpless than themselves—see the Irish attitude toward the Jews. But what has tended to conceal this reality from later analysts of American social history is the fact that these persecutions were local rather than national in scope. The model Reign of Terror was built by the French Jacobins on a national scale, and when applied to the heterogeneous United States, this model was clearly irrelevant.

In the first article in this series I suggested several reasons for the decline of direct democracy in the United States. One of the points mentioned but passed over lightly in the discussion was the growth in power of the national government—national government, moreover, which was carefully insulated against political extremism. Evidence suggests that only once have we approached a national reign of terror: in the era of Woodrow Wilson and his Grand Vizier A. Mitchell Palmer. However, while Palmer and his assistants contributed manfully to the great Red Scare and the concomitant assaults on radicals of all shades, careful analysis of the period 1917-21 indicates that the great bulk of the actions taken against deviants were locally sponsored. In effect, the facilities of the Departments of Justice and Labor were put at the disposal of local extremists — American Legionnaires, American Protective Leagues, etc.—and the national government looked on benignly.

In this regard, the difference between World War I and World War II is immediately apparent. In the latter conflict, Attorney General Francis Biddle employed the Department of Justice as a buffer against local extremism, refusing, for example, to permit local United States Attorneys to prosecute alleged disloyal or subversive elements without prior permission from Washington. This should be compared with the policy of Wilson's two Attorneys General, who gave full discretion to the local United States officials to deal with these matters as they saw fit. Attorney General Gregory disapproved of the indictment of Eugene Debs, for instance, but allowed the United States Attorney for the Northern District of Ohio, E. S. Wertz, to follow his own tack in dealing with the Socialist leader.

Biddle's policy was extremely important for two main reasons: first, because willy-nilly the national government tends to establish institutional behavior patterns which other governments in the nation imitate; and, second, because United States prosecutors were withdrawn from bureaucratic competition with local officials. To be specific, if the United States Attorney for the Western District of Pennsylvania begins to hunt subversives, with all the publicity that such diversions receive, it becomes extremely difficult for analagous state officials not to join in and stage a safari of their own. Given the nature of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



John Brown ascending the gallows as drawn by an artist from *Leslie's* weekly.

the patronage system, local federal officials are always potential candidates for state office, so state officeholders must never permit them to get a unique hold on the public attention. This is true even when the same party controls both the state and national government, for then factional battles in primaries have to be reckoned with; it is more true when different parties control these two governments. Needless to add, once this institutional competition gets under way, there is no effective check on how extreme it will become except the danger of committing the mortal sin of American politics—boring the sovereign people.

ANOTHER factor to be considered is that the national government is far more responsive to the views of civil liberty elites than are state and local governments. This is not necessarily due to superior enlightenment (although the high percentage of "enlightened" lawyers in key jobs in Washington discussed in my first article fits into the picture here); superior vulnerability is probably a better explanation. When the *New York Times* thunders editorially against the Veterans Administration for depriving legless veteran James Kutcher of his disability pension, the VA quakes, but all the admonitory *Times* pronouncements in the world will hardly disturb the Board of Selectmen of East Siwash. There is *one* national government; there are thousands of local governments. Although it may seem that I am here contradicting my earlier assertion that the national government is more insulated from extremism than other governments, in fact the two propositions are supplementary rather than opposed. The various segments of the national government are highly vulnerable to pressure, the administration being the most poorly insulated, but it is virtually impossible for the same pressure complex to dominate *all* segments—the President, the Congress, and the courts.

It seems clear that today the old-fashioned American reign of terror is a disappearing phenomenon. Direct democracy—citizens taking the law into their own hands—is not completely dead, but except in the South, it lives a fitful and anemic existence. A casualty that has been unreported, but which seems to me to have accompanied it, is the old-fashioned American radical. In place of the wild-eyed enthusiast, prepared to tell judge, jury and community to go to hell, we have the Non-Conformist in the Brooks Brothers suit. He prides himself on his Non-Conformity, but, as the capital letters indicate, the deviant values which he holds are now an orthodoxy and he a bureaucrat. While the old-style radical stuck out his chin and took his licks, never expecting that the reward for apostasy would be good fellowship, our Non-Conformist is hurt when society retaliates for his deviation, for he feels that he deserves a medal. He frequently lives well, probably in what Russell Lynes called "Upper Bohemia," has a Volkswagon and *no* television set, and meets his fellow sectarians at cocktail parties to discuss ominous portents of impending American totali-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tarianism. He may be identified by the opening notes of his song: "*Everyone* these days is afraid. . . . "

Let me give two examples. There are lawyers whom I know who work hard and well for unpopular causes (and I am *not* referring to legal defense of unpopular people, which is a different proposition) and yet are constantly disturbed because conservative businessmen refuse to purchase their services. Recently I had lunch with a group of these gentlemen. The first half of the conversation concerned the immoral character of the business community and the second half was a lamentation that these attorneys were being discriminated against for their opinions. When I gently suggested that businessmen were hardly violating their civil rights by refusing to purchase their services, there was stunned silence. I was a fake liberal!

THE second example is that group of alleged radicals who, when officially queried on their political beliefs, plead the Fifth Amendment. I am not suggesting for a second that they are not within their legal rights in doing so; what I am suggesting is that by taking this way out they waive their moral status as radicals. "I refuse to testify on the ground that my testimony may incriminate me"—for a radical was there ever a starker summation of moral bankruptcy? Can one conceive of Gene Debs taking the Fifth? Debs, the Wobblies and their radical brethren never lost an opportunity to tell the world exactly what they thought.

There is a famous anecdote about a Socialist agitator who had been treated to tar and feathers by a town in Oklahoma and was being ridden out on a rail. Asked by one of his tormentors how he liked the ride, he replied: "If it wasn't for the honor of the thing, I'd just as soon walk." While there are still some militants of this calibre in circulation—A. J. Muste comes to mind immediately—they tend to make the Non-Conformist nervous—"Certainly I *respect* Muste, but don't you think he suffers from a martyr complex?" No, I don't. What arouses my indignation is not human fallibility, but human sham: the hypocrisy of those who claim for themselves the tradition of radicalism, but who quail from the social and economic repercussions of defying the community. As an early Quaker, haled into court for non-violent resistance to a "wicked law," told a magistrate who was reluctant to jail him and asked instead for a promise of future good behavior: "Friend, my Light makes me stand against thee, and thy Light makes thee imprison me—let us each then affirm the Light as God has given us to see it."

While today most of the sting has gone from direct democracy, and nothing of equal coercive impact has developed on the national scene to replace it, the character of persecution has also changed. Typically the deviant in contemporary America faces restrictions of a bureaucratic nature: he is denied security clearance, he is discharged without honor from the army, and so on. It is surely no consolation to the employee discharged from government in a Kafkaesque proceeding to hear that in 1919 he might have been beaten to death with a tire-chain. And yet, compared with the segment of American society that lived in rightless limbo half a century ago, the segment that is today maltreated is minute, and this segment has a good chance of receiving at least the elements of due process of law.

But if the present position of the non-conformist has improved, his future situation is not necessarily so cheerful. As was suggested earlier, the decline of local democracy has ameliorated the condition of the individual deviant, but it has also contributed to an increasing concentration of power in the central government. It is now conceivable that we could have a nationwide reign of terror, whereas in the Nineteenth Century this was literally impossible. While no prophet of gloom, and certainly no advocate of such an anachronism as states' rights, I think we should notice carefully one instance of what the national government can do: the "unconstitutional" imprisonment in concentration camps of the West Coast American-Japanese in World War II. (I put unconstitutional in quotes because the Supreme Court, Justice Black speaking, found the Constitution flexible enough to permit this incarceration.) This was a case in which the fragmentation of power which normally operates in the national government went into hibernation, and President Roosevelt, the Congress *without dissent*, and the courts put the Nisei away for possessing not enemy beliefs, but enemy chromosomes.

A SIMILAR potential can be seen in the security program. During the Civil War, Northern "security risks" could flee to honor in the South, and *vice versa*, but today a man found to be a risk in New York is barred from broad categories of employment throughout the nation. He can no longer find security in a sympathetic sub-culture. The great power for good of the national government has as an inevitable concomitant a great power for evil. From my point of view there are no inexorable forces at work moving the United States toward authoritarianism, but the liberal community must realize that the instruments of national power it so casually bestowed upon the national government in the period 1935-52 are capable of employment against its interests. "The sword cares not who wields it, nor whose blood it sheds." It is perhaps at this point that an impartial sociological observer might regret the domestication of American nonconformists, alluded to above: so large a proportion of the American reform elite was taken into the firm in the 1930's and '40's that few voices but those of the crackpot Right are disposed to criticize and attack.

This is the second of three articles on the state of our liberties.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Christian Herter — Heir Unapparent

by JOHN P. MALLAN

ONCE again, at his press conference of January 25 President Eisenhower cast doubt upon his availability for a second term. "We are not talking now about a man who has been ill and who has had a full year to decide what he can do in the next four years. . . . Yesterday was four months since I had this illness. . . . I have to guess as to the next five years and the problem is what will be the effect on the Presidency, not on me. . . ."

Chief Justice Warren is the second choice of Republicans; the only other candidate whom they believe can win. He in turn was ruled out by the President. "I just don't believe we ought to cross over," he declared, "we shouldn't get too great a confusion between politics and the Supreme Court. . . . On every official there lies a responsibility to do his part in keeping these separations."

There remains Vice President Nixon. "My admiration, respect and deep appreciation for Mr. Nixon," said the President, "are well known." But regardless of how deeply these well-known sentiments are felt, they are not shared by the men who brought about the nomination and directed the election of Dwight Eisenhower in 1952. Their distrust of Nixon is profound, and the intensity of their search for an alternate candidate is therefore great. The man they look to, and hope to build, is Governor Christian Herter of Massachusetts. Barring a declaration of availability by the President, and discounting the minority claims of Senator Knowland, it may be that the coming months will witness a polarization within the Republican Party between a Nixon-for-President movement backed by the right-wing, and a stop-Nixon movement led by Herter, organized by Rep. John Heselton of Massachusetts, backed by Dewey, and given silent but determined support by Sherman Adams and the White House staff.

Publicity men now face the challenge of making Herter a household figure in a very short time. But they start with the substantial advantages of a striking figure (he is six feet four or more), rich in background and experience. Herter is part of the patrician intellectual tradition that gave the nation Theodore Roosevelt, the elder Henry Cabot Lodge, Elihu Root and many other distinguished men. He is the son of two young artists of well-to-do families who were living in Paris at the time of his birth in 1895. His birthplace has raised a question as to whether Herter meets the constitutional requirement that the President be a "natural born citizen." Most legal authority indicates that he is eligible and he has told reporters that he would welcome a Court test.

At Harvard, where he was educated, Herter considered following the family's esthetic bent by becoming an architect. But the year was 1915 and by 1916 his interests had shifted to the international scene and diplomatic service. He became an attaché at the American Embassy in Berlin, served briefly as acting Minister to Belgium in 1917—at the age of 22—and was a member of several State Department commissions during the war and postwar years. In 1919 he came to the attention of Herbert Hoover, whom he accompanied on several European relief missions. From 1921 to 1924 he was an assistant to Hoover while the latter was Secretary of Commerce, an association which may possibly be helpful to him now. In 1917 Herter married Mary Caroline Pratt, a grand-daughter of one of the founders of the Standard Oil Company.

IN 1924 Herter left the government. *The Independent*, once an important journal of American opinion, was foundering and Herter, with a friend took it over. The two new owners proclaimed themselves "earnest seekers after truth" whose outlet would be devoted "to the consideration of politics, social and economic tendencies, history, literature and the arts." But truth proved either elusive or unrewarding. *The Independent* failed and Herter moved on to the *Statesman*, a magazine whose preoccupation with hunting, fishing led the *Saturday Evening Post* later on to characterize Herter, in this period, as "just an amiable blue blood." He went back to Harvard in 1929, as a lecturer in international law, but left for politics in 1930.

In 1930 a position as state representative from Boston's solidly Republican Back Bay opened up and was offered to Herter. He took it and in the legislature became a loyal and hard-working member of a well-disciplined GOP majority. By 1938 he was promoted to the Speakership, from which many Massachusetts Republicans have gone on to be Governor. Instead, in 1942 Herter was elected to Congress. There Herter bloomed as an immediate and enthusiastic internationalist. His most important accom-

JOHN P. MALLAN *is an instructor in government at Smith College.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EDITORIAL: *"The Nation" and Adlai Stevenson*

Must We Be Saved by the GOP?

HENRY MENCKEN who died on January 29 was the implacable enemy of humbug, and no man was spared his scorn. Bryan he branded "the Fundamentalist Pope," Theodore Roosevelt, "the national Barbarossa," Wilson, "the perfect model of the Christian cad."

The American language he loved would have been spicier still had Mencken been able to savor the richer fare of the Eisenhower Administration: the confidence with which it rings in the Deity as a political ally; the ease with which it preaches individual worth and stoops to slander; its outward certainty in substituting public relations for political philosophy; its inner cowardice, implicit in acts such as Eisenhower's statement that he alone had not read *Life's* interview with his Secretary of State, an evasion which seemed to tell allies, enemies and neutrals that the President is either a liar or a fool.

If Mencken hated fakery, he wanted also to believe in the journals of opinion whose purpose was to argue for sound values. Neither *The Nation* nor *The New Republic,* he granted, was "quite free from the pontifical manner." And yet both, he felt, were "a hundred times livelier" than their conservative counterparts. The reason, he assumed, was that "radicalism loosens and stimulates the mind." But he added, that "both *The Nation* and *The New Republic* are commonly believed to be much more radical than they really are." He wrote:

> It is my belief as an old practitioner of controversy that all of those weeklies and especially those on the radical side weaken their effectiveness by keeping too much on the defensive. It is the offensive that counts, in controversy as in war. . . . The logic of events, of course, has forced both *The Nation* and *The New Republic* to do a good deal of defending . . . but it has been psychologically clumsy and journalistically unsound. . . .

How, then, would Mencken have responded to the defensive lead editorial in *The Nation* of January 28 in which its editors join *The Reporter* in advising liberals to refrain from supporting Adlai Stevenson?

First, *The Nation* downgrades the strength and promise of the group it wishes to speak for: "liberals," it declares, "are a permanent political minority." Moreover, they must resign themselves to this status; they must, as passive agents, wait to be courted by groups stronger than themselves, they cannot participate from the start in movements to vitalize our democracy, for, "the moment they are committed their influence declines."

Not only are liberals doomed to permanent minority status, according to *The Nation,* but their past beliefs and associations are no longer meaningful today. It explains:

> From a long range point of view we may reasonably believe that the Democratic Party offers much better possibilities as an instrument for liberal political action than the Republican, *but considerations of this general nature cannot be very helpful in making today's decisions* [italics ours].

Today's decisions, *The Nation* believes, center in the maintenance of peace. This goal requires the selection as our President not of one who initiates reform, but of one who can frustrate the initiative of the radical right. "The only avowed radicals in either party," according to *The Nation,* "are today of the right-wing variety." It adds: "the right wings of both parties have the upper hand over their respective left wings in Congress." Liberals can no longer afford, *The Nation* says, to strike out early and boldly on behalf of *their* ideas, for that would be "knight errantry." They must back the candidate who "can best contain the right wingers."

Republican radicals of the right are undeniably more numerous and vigorous than those in the Democratic Party. Therefore, *The Nation* seems to say, a Republican President, able to keep the more aggressive anti-Communists of his own party in line, can best move towards the peace abroad that is ours for the asking. If either Eisenhower or Warren is the Republican candidate, *The Nation* we conclude may give them its blessing in 1956.

IT IS too bad Mencken is dead. He had a taste for the ironic. He would have had the appropriate reply to the suggestion that we are to look to Herbert Brownell as the chosen guardian of our liberties; to Ezra Benson as the protector of our family farms; to Charles Wilson as the defender of free enterprise; to John Foster Dulles as our guarantor of peace; to Richard Nixon as the model of young statesmanship for our youth; to Dwight Eisenhower, who made from these men his team, as the personification of the promise of American life. No one can speak now for Henry Mencken, but his essays on liberal journalism point to an obvious conclusion: stand by your guns! Men who believe in Stevenson's ideas rally to Stevenson; those who believe in Eisenhower's Republicanism rally to Eisenhower; but let no journal of opinion flirt with candidates who repudiate its ideas, for to do so calls into question its reason for being.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Will the People Choose "The People's Choice"?

ON the second day of his January trek through Wisconsin, Sen. Estes Kefauver was aroused in his hotel room by the salute of his Chicago press agent:

"Good morning, Senator. The South will rise again."

"Hurrah," responded Kefauver. He got up and pulled on the only pair of trousers he had with him, the ones with the red, white and blue striped suspenders. As he drank his morning coffee, he inquired into the whereabouts of two other suits and a topcoat, which a remorseful aide had left hanging in the airport at Milwaukee.

The Senator had paused there just long enough to debark from a Washington airliner, greet some friends, shake some hands and talk to Washington on the telephone. Then he sailed off in a small Cessna, escorted by a Piper Cub, on a three-day hinterland tour to line up Wisconsin's 30 national convention votes for the Democratic nomination.

The tiny air fleet buzzed over the snow-covered prairies to LaCrosse, a light manufacturing and food processing center of 50,000 on the Mississippi River. In a way, by-passing Milwaukee to campaign for the Democratic nomination in Wisconsin seemed like flying to Las Vegas to pitch pennies. There were rumors that the Democrats in the big city were overwhelmingly fond of Adlai Stevenson. But the Senator's strategy this trip was to see if the farmers and the small town middle class were buying him as the champion of the little man.

At LaCrosse, Kefauver ran into a waiting delegation of dissident Democratic Farmer-Laborites from nearby Minnesota, headed by ex-Minnesota governor Hjalmar Petersen. The group hustled the Senator into a hotel room and pleaded with him for two hours to battle Stevenson for Minnesota's 30 national convention votes. The Minnesota rebels argued that Kefauver's grass roots appeal, which stems from his singular ability to mingle with all kinds of people, could beat the organization in northeastern and western Minnesota.

The Senator talked by telephone with his national campaign manager, F. Joseph (Jiggs) Donohue in Washington. Donohue was dead set against the idea, even if the promised financing and organization materialized. But Kefauver was moved by advices that there was resentment in the Minnesota interior at the Minneapolis-St. Paul organization's indorsement of Stevenson. Some of the Farmer-Labor people upstate thought this had circumvented the intent of the state's open primary law.

Kefauver's farm message at LaCrosse was received enthusiastically by 400 fur-hatted, storm-coated small farmers and small-town merchants in the town's biggest dance hall, a place blazing with orange and blue neon lighting which created the impression one was inside an enormous juke box. It was mostly straight talk, and little extraneous political hoop-la. Except for two huge campaign posters, salvaged in Chicago from Kefauver's 1952 campaign, the traditional decor of a political rally had been omitted, to save funds. But the Senator's grave, even-toned charges that the Administration had betrayed the farmer, was ruining the small business man and had gone three times to the brink of war without telling anybody about it drew tremendous applause.

Afterwards, Kefauver was driven in a motorcade over icy roads to a country tavern at Newburgh Corners, high on a ridge above the Mississippi. There fifty farmers had prepared a raccoon supper for him, Wisconsin style. Kefauver was two hours late for the feast, because he stayed at the dance hall to shake hands with everybody who wanted to shake hands with him and to thank the waitresses. A cold wind, sweeping across the river from Minnesota, blew a shower of snow into the smoky saloon as Kefauver ducked his head to get through the six-foot doorway. He was greeted by a wild cheer, partly motivated by the fact that a Republican beer salesman had wagered four cases of beer the Senator wouldn't show up.

In this section of northwestern Wisconsin, as in Minnesota, the little man Kefauver likes to shake hands with is just about as tall as he is. The Senator doesn't have to keep bending his head to talk to him. Kefauver stepped up on a chair and was introduced formally by the bartender. He said he was sorry he hadn't brought his coonskin cap.

"If we'd knowed you was comin' we'd a had one ready," called a woman from the kitchen. Cheers shook the rafters and rattled the pictures of Jack Dempsey and Gentleman Jim Corbett.

Then, suddenly, Kefauver, big as he is, seemed to vanish. He had not left the place. He had simply merged with the crowd. He was sitting at the bar eating warmed over 'coon meat, talking about dairy prices, natural gas and some (little) people in East Tennessee. The Republican beer salesman shouldered up to the bar and clapped Kefauver on the back.

"You say you're running for President?"

"Yes, sir," said Kefauver. "I am."

"You're my boy," said the beer man. "I'll bring over those four cases in the morning."

The Senator flew up to Duluth, where he met a group of Minnesota CIO leaders. At neighboring Superior, Wisconsin, he talked about the benefits of the St. Lawrence Seaway which he said he had always supported.

At Fond du Lac, he stated the farmer's diminishing buying power threatened a depression.

He abandoned the air lift at this point and rode in a motorcade to Madison, the state capital. His clothes had caught up with him from Milwaukee, but he was still wearing the same suit. En route, he stopped twice to shake hands with people who were attracted by the siren on the motorcade's police escort.

Kefauver seemed to be convinced that he was talking the language of his "little people." When he arrived in Madison, he notified his Washington office that he had decided to enter the Minnesota primary.

"There are a lot of very fine people in Minnesota," he commented. "Some of them might want to vote for me."

RICHARD LEWIS

Chicago

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HERBLOCK: *Ghost-reading the Ghost-writers*

At the Roosevelt Day dinner of the Washington Chapter of Americans for Democratic Action, the guest of honor, Sen. Wayne Morse, was introduced by Herbert Block, cartoonist of The Washington Post and Times Herald. *A part of his introduction follows:*

The brief interlude while I'm talking is actually designed to give everybody a chance to run down the lobby to the news stand and see if any new magazines have come in—or if any old magazines have blown up.

I know that you're all as interested as I am in the public letters of Ezra Taft Benson, or Ezra Taft Benson's assistant, or the assistant to the secretary's assistant in Secretary Benson's office.

There's nothing really confusing about this. It's just that in "the press of duties," as Mr. Benson put it, the Administration leaders have not yet had a chance to introduce their ghost writers to their ghost readers.

In these busy days it takes so much time to suppress information, that there isn't always time to read information or even to listen to it. Secretary Wilson, in the press of *his* duties, apparently didn't quite catch what was said to him by the Army Chief of Staff, President Eisenhower hadn't had a chance to read the article in *Life* Magazine; and neither Secretary Benson nor his staff had time to read the *Harper's* article. But I'm sure everything will be cleared up just as soon as all these articles are condensed in *Reader's Digest.*

Of all the recent articles I think the one of a week or so ago was the most interesting. This was the piece which I think was based on a story by James Thurber. It was about the Secret Life of Foster Dulles.

Chins up, men—Old Tanglefoot will see us through.

In last week's issue, Mr. Dulles took a flight of fancy which at times brought him to the very brink of reality.

Mr. Dulles has done so much flying around that he has apparently got the impression that he can do without any visible means of support.

And, incidentally, isn't it wonderful finally to have a Secretary of State who is not taken in by common sense?

Well, in last week's exciting article, Mr. Dulles was at the brink. This week Mr. Henry Luce is standing on the brink, and is asking, in effect: What more can a man do than let down his *Life* for a friend?

Mr. Luce apologizes and explains that if there were any misunderstandings created by the article, they were because the piece had run long and had to be condensed.

Mr. Luce apparently had a double misfortune on this piece. The article was too condensed to avoid "misunderstandings," but apparently not condensed enough for President Eisenhower to read it.

A *Life* editorial along with this statement—which I hope was not too much condensed by Mr. Luce—contains some of the most touching writing since Peter Pan. It urges us all to support Mr. Dulles. If you believe in Superman, clap your hands.

"Same with me. I was just sitting reading a magazine, and—"

most of the big towns and cities where the housing shortage is most acute have Labour administrations. How can these Labour councils finance their housing programs in this new situation?

To meet the additional cost from a general tax levy would throw an unfair burden on the tenants of private landlords, many of whom live in houses far inferior to those which the council would wish them to subsidize. To spread the increase over all council house tenants by a general rise in council rents would cause hardship to the poorer tenants. The only alternative is to introduce a means test so that council rents can be somehow related to the incomes of the tenant concerned.

The idea of such a differential scale in any social service arouses bitter opposition in many parts of the Labour movement, because of the brutality with which prewar Conservative governments operated the so-called Means Test during the great slump of 1931. Yet it has long been obvious that the Welfare State cannot be fully efficient if its benefits have to be distributed indiscriminately without reference to need.

DENIS HEALEY, M.P.

London.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

decline in automobile production which already has laid off 25,000 workers; the dip in new housing starts below the annual rate of 1.2 million; and the setback in the stock market.

The President's report appears to take these factors into account, yet concludes that these unfavorable trends are offset by other factors, notably industrial spending on new plants.

The other source of concern is the continuing pockets of distress in America, which seem unresponsive to national prosperity and to defy the trickle-down theory of prosperity. The distressed elements in the population include a large fraction of the farmers; people who dwell in urban slums; older people, more than half of whom are in the annual income bracket below $1000; families impoverished by serious illness; people in communities where the main industry has declined or departed; and families which lead a primitive existence in some parts of the rural South.

Last year President Eisenhower's Report was widely criticized for giving scant attention to these problems. This year he painstakingly reviewed each problem, and made more than 50 recommendations for corrective measures. In fact the President accepted and refurbished a number of ideas from Democratic legislation already introduced in Congress.

It is always doubtful whether in time of high prosperity a democratic government will generate sufficient concern about distressed minorities to seek effective remedies. As a nation we tend to face up to drastic solutions only in time of general distress. Yet these drags on the economy will receive special scrutiny in Congressional hearings now under way.

Fifty witnesses who appeared before the Joint Committee one year ago to comment on the President's report were nearly all proved wrong by the march of events. Their criticisms were directed at the failure of the Eisenhower Administration to check the 1954 decline in business activity, and none was able to forecast the dazzling climb to new peaks of production in 1955.

Some would now say the Administration was lucky, others that the Administration was pushed by its critics into remedial action. Yet it is equally possible that the Administration has given the nation sounder economic management than its critics expected.

The philosophy of economic manipulation, which now clearly separate 1956 from the last "free enterpris Administration" of the 1920's, is no where better stated than in these word of the President's report:

> Today we believe as strongly in economical progress through free and competitive enterprise as our fathers did. . . . But we have also come to believe that progress need not proceed as irregularly as in the past, and that the federal government has the capacity to moderate economic fluctuations without becoming a dominant factor in our economy.

Homes for Britain: New Issue for Labour

IT WAS the postwar Labour Government's aim to provide every British family with a home of its own. But though Labour built houses at the rate of more than 200,000 a year, when it lost power in 1951 there were still nearly two million more families than houses in Britain. The discontent of the homeless was a major political factor. For whereas before the war millions were in any case too poor to pay rent for houses of their own, full employment and rising incomes put a home within reach of every family—the only obstacle was the rate of building.

Thus the achievement of the Churchil Government in building more tha 300,000 houses in both 1953 and 195 paid great dividends in last year's gen eral election. But though there are stil more than a million families without house of their own, and well over hal the population live in obsolete housc built before World War I, the Govern ment has decided that it cannot afford t continue building houses at the rate i set before the election. In order to re duce the effective pressure for ne houses it has to make houses more ex pensive.

The first step was to cut food sub sidies, which diverted a considerabl part of the lowest incomes from housin to food. The second was to raise th rate of interest at which local authoritic could borrow money for housing fro three percent in 1951 to five-and-a-hal percent this month.

The third step was to cut the Govern ment subsidy to council houses by ove half, as a preliminary to abolishing it al together. This will add another 10 shill ings to the rent of new houses.

Of course the Labour Party will figh this policy in Parliament at every stag But since much of it is already in effec the increased cost of housing faces loca Labour-dominated councils with som difficult decisions. Though the Conserv atives have a majority in Parliamen

THE New Republic A JOURNAL OF OPINION

1826 JEFFERSON PLACE, N. W. WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

Michael Straight, *Editor*
Gilbert A. Harrison, *Publisher*
Helen Fuller, *Managing Editor*

F. R. Ruskin, *Administrative Assistant*
Lucille Davis, *Copy Assistant*
Irvin Shapiro, *Design*

Robert Evett, *Book Editor*
Eric Bentley, *Theatre Critic*
Delmore Schwartz, *Poetry Editor*

Published weekly and Copyrighted, 1956 in the USA by New Republic, Inc. Phone: REpublic 7-8656. Entered as second-class matter September 26, 1950, at the post office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Single copy, 20c; Yearly subscription, $7.00; Foreign, $8.00; Armed Forces personnel or students, $5.00.

Volume 134, Number 6, Issue 2150

Washington Wire, by T.R.B. 2
Behind the Headlines 3
Must We Be Saved by the GOP? 7
an editorial
Christian Herter—Heir Unapparent 8
by John P. Mallan
The New Government of France 11
by T. Noel Stern
A Sane View of Non-Conformity 13
by John Roche
The Superficial Aspect 16
by Gerald W. Johnson
Books and Comment 17
Films 22
A Communication 23

Subscribers desiring change of address should notify us at least three weeks in advance. Please include both old and new addresses, and, if possible, wrapper with stencil impression.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Noteworthy This Week

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

The New Team—Martin, Halleck and Powell

THE FIRST CLASH over civil rights in the 1956 Congress has pitted the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People against—of all people—the AFL-CIO. And it has divided the Republicans, with GOP House leaders refusing to follow the course recommended by President Eisenhower. All this before any Southern Congressman has said a word.

The clash arose over the amendment to the school construction bill, prepared by Negro Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D, N. Y.). The amendment would deny federal construction funds to any school district which retained segregation.

The AFL-CIO confirmed that its lobbyists are lining up votes against the Powell amendment, which is sponsored by the NAACP. Andrew J. Biemiller, AFL-CIO legislative chief and former Democratic Congressman from Wisconsin, said the labor organization's legal counsel had determined there is no need for the Powell amendment because under past Supreme Court decisions, federal funds cannot be used for segregated schools. "If this use were attempted," Biemiller said, "a simple injunction suit would stop it."

President Eisenhower was less categorical about the amendment when the following exchange took place in his press conference of January 25:

> Q. Mr. President, I gather that you think the school construction bill should be freed of any amendment that might block it.
>
> A. That is what I believe. The school construction bill should be passed. Now if Congress wants to put the other thing on, and does it, I will understand why they are doing it. But I just simply say, let's get the school bill.

Elaborating on his position that the anti-segregation rider is extraneous, the President said:

> The Supreme Court, in reaching its decision as to what the law was, provided . . . a gradual implementation. . . . But in the meantime, the need of the American children for schools is right now, immediately, today. So I think there should be nothing that is put on this thing that delays . . . the bill.

Republican Minority Leader Joseph Martin in the House and his second-in-command, Charles Halleck of Indiana, immediately let it be known they would support the passage of the Powell anti-segregation rider, despite President Eisenhower's attitude. The partisan politics behind this move can be judged by the following expected course of events:

The school construction bill will be voted out of Committee by near unanimous support of both parties, and without the anti-segregation rider. Speaker Sam Rayburn is known to oppose a "closed rule" for the debate—that is, a rule which would prevent floor amendments. That opens up the way for Representative Powell to offer his amendment on the floor, where it will pass with the support of Northerners, both Republican and Democrat. One school lobbyist estimates that if the amendment receives only half the Republican votes, it will pass comfortably, and Minority Leader Martin can assure that many votes.

The bill then goes to the Senate where a Southern filibuster is inevitable. During the filibuster Northern Democrats like Senators Lehman of New York, Humphrey of Minnesota, and Douglas of Illinois are likely to feel compelled to express their convictions on civil rights, even though they might prefer that the amendment were never offered. In the end it is quite possible the school construction bill would die.

Whatever bitterness is generated in this North-South split would be carried over into the Democratic nominating convention in August, at which Northerners and Southerners must find common language for their civil rights plank. It is quite possible that Representatives Martin and Halleck envision this chain of events.

Temperature Moderate

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S third Economic Report to the Congress, delivered on January 24, sets in motion a 5-week process for taking the nation's temperature. And this year the process takes place amidst some newly-felt concern for the American economy.

Six days after the Report reached Congress, the Joint Committee on the Economic Report began public hearings, calling in economists from outside the Government, many from academic life, to criticize or supplement the President's views. These hearings end about February 15, and by March 1 the Joint Committee, headed by Sen. Paul Douglas (D, Ill.) will issue another report on the nation's economic health.

This dual process, which tends to harmonize views of Executive and Legislative Branches of Government, was conceived in the Employment Act of 1946. That Act created the President's Council of Economic Advisers, which drafts the annual report. It created the Joint Congressional Committee, which drafts the response. The whole process is designed to mobilize government effort toward full employment, and to head off a recurrence of depression.

This year's Presidential report confirms with candor that "The scope of economic expansion has narrowed in recent months and its pace has slackened." It devotes considerable space to the American population groups that are not sharing fully in the present peak level of prosperity. The Report thus acknowledges the substance of two principal areas of concern.

About mid-December economic forecasters who had been buoyantly optimistic about 1956 began to predict a slackening of economic activity during the year. These forecasters point to a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Washington Wire .... *T.R.B.*

Walking back from Ike's press conference last week, a TV man tipped us off to a new "spectral script" device for commentators. We got in touch with NBC right away, and they switched us over to Ray Terrell of TelePrompTer who put on a show. Well, it's wonderful all right and is going to bring Sincerity back to politics.

How does it work? Well, first you or your ghost writer prepares a talk and a motorcycle messenger grabs it and takes it to the studio where it's re-typed on an endless roll in big letters. This roll goes into a drum at your feet with somebody controlling the speed, and magic lantern mirrors project the speech against a plate of glass right between you and the camera lens at eye level. The trick is that the glass is coated with a thin layer of titanium dioxide on one side so the speaker can see the script but the camera can't. The camera looks right *through* the glass, and its only effect is to cut down the light a bit so that the lens has to be widened half a stop or so. But over on your side there's this titanium dioxide with the ghost-written phantom speech floating in the air and the lines slowly succeeding each other like a Roman scroll being unwound with letters about two inches high and words about five to a line.

They used to mount these things on top of the camera so the speaker talked over the heads of his audience, or else on screens on either side, so his eyes wandered, giving him a furtive, shifty look. But now the speaker looks the folks square in the eye, man-to-man, without ever glancing down for a note. Erudite quotations or complicated statistics will just flow out of his head. When you next hear a Tammany ward boss quoting Schopenhauer on TV, he is probably using a Spectral Script; why, with this gadget you could reel off the whole Einstein theory and not take your eye off the nonplussed voter. Ah, this wonderful titanium dioxide! The stuff is all over Washington in one way or another; you can't see it but know it is there. That frank glance, that straightforward approach, that transparent motivation? . . . just TiO_2.

What really rolled 'em at the ADA Roosevelt Day banquet here last week was a song with guitar accompaniment by Joe Glazer of the United Rubber Workers to the *Pinafore* tune of "If you want to rise to the top of the tree" in which Dicky Nixon tells the devious devices by which he came to be considered for "the Pres-i-den-cee." Emotional abhorrence of Nixon seems to be about the strongest bond liberals have these days. Cartoonist Herblock made a hit, too, particularly when he referred to recent Administration difficulties with *Harper's*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, and *Life* and reflected, "I'm sure everything will be cleared up just as soon as all these articles are condensed in *Reader's Digest.*"

What struck us was the corrosive effect of humor as a political weapon. The heavy ADA speeches were good, of course, but the darts that really deflate a rather pompous Administration are those tipped with ridicule and winged, maybe, with a catchy tune.

The real danger to American institutions comes, we always insist, not from Russia but Canada. How the self-appointed guardians of this Republic can remain blind to the subversive goings-on to the north of us we really can't guess. It can never be said, however, that this lonely but patriotic column did not point out the peril. Why, in Canada they actually give the Salk vaccine *free!* Canada has the "baby bonus" plan for all mothers irrespective of wealth; it insures workers against unemployment; it gives everybody over 70 a $40-a-month old age pension. It has the effrontery to do this and have a dollar worth more than the US dollar. But now worse is to come.

While Ike backs away from his own former health-reinsurance program and offers substantially less than the $400 million-a-year insurance budget advocated by that dangerous "red," the late Robert A. Taft, the Canadians are jus about ready for Dominion-wide healt insurance. British Columbia and Saskat chewan already provide it with full, fre hospital service for all citizens. If thi isn't Socialist infiltration, we don't kno the thing. The Ottawa government no proposes to match the cost, 50-50, wi all provinces that come into the nationa system. Here is a challenge to one o the most cherished privileges in th USA—the right of a poor man to di without hospital care if he can't affor it! Where are the NAM, the DAR, th AMA? So worried with Russia, w assume, that they are unaware of th peril at this very door.

Here are some further notes on th President's Economic Message. Goverr ment costs are now indefinitely on thei way up again, probably for keeps, an are never likely to reach the "$60 bi lion" floor which Ike offered in his 195 campaign. Even while hailing the en of controls Ike significantly suggests th revival of standby controls over cor sumer credit, where growing indebte ness is a real worry. Cost of living i being held stable, but it is because far prices are going down—thereby cour terbalancing rising factory prices — o paper at least. There is some softenin in the boom with weak spots in auto and housing, in growing inventorie and in the chance that debt-logged cor sumers may stop buying. Prices on th stock market are way out of line wit dividends. The Message sees these thing through rose-colored spectacles as pa of the GOP prosperity theme. Mayb this optimism is justified, and we hav no reason to suppose it isn't. But on th other hand conditions exist which coul also mean a tapering off of the boo into a little recession around the end o the year.

Notes: A Congressional witness doesn have to snitch on far-past Red acquain tances if (a) he otherwise co-operat with the committee and (b) his info mation serves no legislative purpos that is Judge Henry Edgerton's fa reaching Circuit Court ruling here (2 t 1) which will now probably go to th Supreme Court. . . . Keep your eye o Stassen as a Presidential candidate; h proposed Asian "peace" trip is anoth reminder. . . . Looks as though Est Kefauver is risking everything in ente ing the Minnesota primary.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED